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First to Last—the Truth: News—Editorials
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Lloyd George's Victory

There is no mistaking the fact that the victory of Lloyd George in the House of Commons is a popular victory in America. This is due to the fact that, rightly or wrongly, American public opinion has become convinced that Lloyd George represents in Great Britain the same determination to win the war that Clemenceau embodies in France, and that the fall of Lloyd George now would be disadvantageous to the Allied cause.

It is well recognized in this country that Mr. Asquith as Prime Minister and public man has been a consistent friend of the United States; that Sir Edward Grey, Lord Haldane and others of the more conspicuous of his supporters have been at all times friendly to America and considerate of American interests. But this does not and cannot change the fact that a victory for Mr. Asquith today would, justly or unjustly, create in this country something of the consternation which would in England follow the return to office of Mr. Bryan. In France and in the United States the decision of the House of Commons will be hailed as one giving promise of a renewed prosecution of the war with the utmost vigor, and a preservation of that unity of command and closeness of relations between the Allies which represent the recent achievement of the British Prime Minister, working in cooperation and sympathy with President Wilson and Premier Clemenceau.

Looking now at the purely British aspects of the decision in the House of Commons on Thursday, it would seem that the overwhelming vote for the Prime Minister represented first of all the conviction that it was unwise at this time to change leaders and that it was undesirable, despite the limitations of the present Prime Minister as disclosed in his recent record, to return to the regime of his predecessor. It may or may not have been a victory for Lloyd George, although at this distance it seems a brilliant personal triumph, but it was unmistakably a defeat for Mr. Asquith.

It would seem that the former Prime Minister was, in a measure, trapped. His decision to champion General Maurice was apparently based on an inaccurate notion of the weapons which could be placed at his disposal. When he had committed himself to the struggle the Prime Minister cleverly, adroitly, accepted the issue and forced his old opponent into the position of attacking the government at a critical moment in the history of the Empire on trivial charges made by a disgruntled and partially discredited general. There are certain paragraphs in the Prime Minister's explanation which do not wholly explain and suggest lights and shadows rather than clear daylight. But, on the whole, the answer is complete and was accepted by the House of Commons as adequate and satisfactory.

It would be rash to attempt to forecast a long period of power for Lloyd George on the strength of his victory of Thursday. On the other hand, for the time being the opposition has been weakened. The plea of the Prime Minister for an end of sniping at a moment when a legitimate plea that will have great weight abroad as well as at home. A change of Cabinet at this time, particularly the return of Mr. Asquith, supported by Lord Lansdowne and by Mr. Henderson, would unmistakably shake the confidence of a portion of the American and of the French people, and there is no disguising the fact that the victory of the Prime Minister will be popular both in France and in our own country.

It is unfortunate that the differences of opinion between the French and the British on the question of the extension of the British line had to be aired in the House of Commons. It is more unfortunate because these differences seem to have been loyally and completely adjusted between the commanders in chief of the two armies. Once more, as so frequently in this war, Great Britain has generously and readily complied with a reasonable request of her ally, and the compliance, which was greatly to the credit of the British, was a thing of the past before this controversy arose. The whole incident might turn to German advantage if it left any permanent scar. But it can not and will not leave any scar.

After all, we—Britain, France and America—are democracies. We have to go before the public and to the people

from time to time to explain things that it would be pleasanter to avoid explaining. It is an inherent weakness in democracies in times of war, but it is no less an element of strength in times of peace and a guarantee of safety at all times. It is one of the prices we pay for our form of government, and we have to pay it.

The resolution of the British people to pursue this war to victory is disclosed in the result in the House of Commons as unshaken either by political dispute at home or by military defeat abroad. The spirit of Britain remains precisely what it was, and what British history would give the world the right to expect. The spirit of France has been disclosed in the rally to Clemenceau. The Italian situation has much improved in the past months. There is no cause for pessimism or permanent regret over the recent British political crisis. If the crisis was in itself annoying, if not disturbing, the solution has been satisfactory, and we in America, who had no right to partisanship during the crisis, may perhaps be forgiven an expression of satisfaction at the way in which it has worked out.

Let Us Pay

Secretary McAdoo's proposals for an increase in Federal taxes will, we are sure, meet with no serious opposition. We are in this war to do our utmost. Therefore let the expenditure be so fast that even the maddest war-made pan-German will recoil at the cost.

The United States is the only nation on earth now in a position to make the cost of war prohibitive to Germany. Our actual and effective wealth and productive power are now nearly equal to those of Great Britain, France and Germany combined. And our present war expenditures are not proportionally more than one-third those of England.

Great Britain will raise this year by taxes at least 3½ billions. Our equivalent for this would be at least 10 billions, and we shall actually raise only about four or four and a half.

Making Faces

"Under the shadow of the espionage act," reads the news account, "the Liberty Defence Union gave a testimonial dinner last night to the editors of 'The Masses,' now awaiting their second trial." They were a witty lot. Max Eastman defined his sensations as those of a "Bevo, criminal." Morris Hillquit, who committed the Socialist party to the proposition that our declaration of war upon Germany was a criminal act, said that under the espionage act, "if a soldier's mother doesn't like the cut of his uniform and says, 'Darn that tailor!' it's twenty years." John Reed was there. Intellectuals, Harvard radicals and chastened disloyalists, all making faces at the government!

Isn't serious. It is futile to speak of its being in bad taste. We comment upon it at all only because it illustrates a kind of infantile egoism which masquerades as radicalism. A real Bolshevik would turn his back in disgust.

It is the passion of these pretenders to shock the ears. They have no other means of attracting attention to themselves. Also they live by it. In peace time they play with erotic and obscene subjects in the guise of literature, call their license freedom and sustain a silly feud with the prudery of the postal laws. In war time they play with sedition, because that is the most shocking thing they can do. The feud with the Post Office Department goes on. They have no intention to be seditious really. They would rather behave than go to jail.

After Zeebrugge and Ostend?

In the recent exploit at Zeebrugge all that was romantic and adventurous in the traditions of the British navy lived again. It was a rebirth of the spirit of Nelson and Drake—of the spirit of our own Decatur in the war with the Barbary States.

Such a spirit, once aroused, is infectious. Its exhilaration is felt wherever the spell of sea power and sea fighting persists. The British public has reacted to it with ardor. A second successful operation—this time at Ostend—will strengthen that reaction. It may do much to modify the cautious naval offensive which the British Admiralty has pursued so far.

The success of the raid on Zeebrugge has been practically admitted by the Germans. The commander of that port was relieved. Aerial observers report that the entrance to the Bruges Canal is blocked. The first attempt on Ostend was a failure. The exit from Bruges, the German submarine base, through the parallel arm of the canal to Ostend was left open. According to yesterday's announcement, the cruiser *Vindictive*, which took an important part in the Zeebrugge raid, was sunk, filled with concrete, across the narrow mouth of Ostend port.

The North Sea and Channel harbors of France and Belgium are nearly all of one type—a narrow entrance between breakwaters. They are, therefore, comparatively easy to seal. The British sealed Boulogne for a time in 1916 by accident. A grain carrier, wrecked on the Channel coast, was raised and towed to Boulogne. It foundered again just in the mouth of the harbor and held up shipping for a couple of months.

If Bruges is closed to the Germans as a base, U-boat activities will be materially hampered. The English Channel will be safer and the enemy's refitting trips will be lengthened except for what surreptitious use the Germans may be able to make of the Scheldt (which runs through Dutch territory) out of Antwerp.

The U-boat is now being held. Its depredations just about balance new construction. But the best way to overcome its menace is to hunt it down and

blockade it—"to drive the rats into their holes."

The Zeebrugge and Ostend operations are an earnest of a more aggressive campaign against the waning power of the German undersea fleet. Much more can be done, apparently, than has been done under the defensive-offensive naval policy of the last four years. The public of the maritime nations at war with Germany have been impatiently awaiting a more energetic offensive. Nothing would hearten them more than to know that the hour for such an offensive had struck.

Unpolluted Water

This city will greet with profound relief Governor Whitman's approval of the Slater bill creating a commission to administer a state reservation, including the sites acquired for the Mohansic State Hospital and the Boys' Training School, at Yorktown. With the creation of this reservation the last chance vanishes that the water supply of New York will be polluted by sewage from state institutions. So long as it was possible to use these sites for the purposes for which they had been purchased, just so long the metropolis would have been in danger of an epidemic of typhoid or some other dread disease the germs of which were carried by the Croton water, into which the sewage from those institutions was bound to seep.

The bill just become law represents the victorious end of a long and bitter fight to prevent such a contingency. The state authorities, having made their plans and acquired land for the institutions in question, naturally objected to abandoning them. Upstate political and real estate interests opposed the contention that there was any danger from sewage if properly treated at a disposal plant. Bills introduced in the interest of the city were defeated, not one year, but at the succeeding sessions of the Legislature. But the fight, begun and ably led by the Merchants' Association of the city, was too vigorous to be overcome, and eventually a legislative commission was appointed to inquire into the matter and to see what could be done with the institution sites if the original plans had to be given up. It was on the recommendation of this commission that the sites were set aside as a state park, and the commission went even further by recommending that the state take steps to prevent the placing of state institutions within the watershed of any municipality's water supply.

The purity of any city's water cannot be too rigorously protected. New York has spent vast sums in acquiring its water supply, and the very county some of whose citizens sought to block the bills to protect that supply obtained water for certain municipalities from this city's mains. An epidemic, once started, cannot be confined by city lines. Thus the rest of the state may join the metropolis in gratification over the final step in the plans to keep pure the drinking water of more than 5,000,000 people.

Lending Harvest Hands

In connection with the United States Employment Service the employers of Connecticut have worked out an interesting plan for increasing the available supply of farm labor at the peak of the load—the harvesting season. Merchants and manufacturers are now canvassing their staffs for volunteers for farm labor, whom they enroll for a minimum number of days of agricultural toil. They report the result to the Federal Employment Service, which will make requisition on them for a given number of men when farmers request help. These men are to be transported by the business men direct to the farms designated, without expense to the farmers. They are to be paid their regular compensation, the farmers turning over the men's farm wages to their regular employers.

The net result is that the farmers will have the men they need for haying, potato digging, harvesting corn and the like at the prevailing farm hire. The employers will stand the difference in wages earned as part of their contribution to the waging of the war. They will arrange the men's absence so that least inconvenience may occur in their establishments, it being understood that the employees who do not undertake farm service are to carry on the work of those who do, so far as it may be done without the hiring of extra labor.

This plan has received the approval of the Connecticut Manufacturers' Association and the State Chamber of Commerce. It is being operated through local commercial organizations and local agents of the State Council of Defense. Its advantage is that it has little red tape and is capable of practical application with a minimum of expense and delay.

The plan is simple and practical enough to be worth adopting wherever the employers are patriotic enough to assume the obligations of transporting the men to the farms and keeping up their regular pay.

Mr. Gutzon Borglum, who has accused nearly every one else of profiteering in aircraft, now is charged with having unsuccessfully tried to be himself a profiteer in the same field. It remains only for some one to suspect him of possessing a Teutonic personality, and then the American sense of humor will intervene.

An Address to the Kaiser

(From The Kansas City Star)
These six things doth the Lord hate; yea, seven are an abomination unto him:
A proud look, a lying tongue, and hands that shed innocent blood.

An heart that deviseth wicked imaginations, feet that be swift in running to mischief.
A false witness that speaketh lies, and he that soweth discord among brethren.—Prov. 6:19-19.

Patriotic Painters

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: The postponement of the projected "Exhibition of Patriotic Pictures" at the National Arts Club has been instanced as a reflection upon the patriotism of American painters.

Nothing could be more unfair than any such inference. Whatever American painters may be, they are not unpatriotic. Almost immediately after the declaration of war a society of artists, stimulated by the researches of Abbott H. Thayer in protective coloration, was formed for the promotion of interest in camouflage.

The executive committee received hundreds of letters from artists in all parts of the country offering service. Pupils of art schools in different states of the union began to drill; ground was offered for camouflage camps; until the military authorities said, "We thank you for your zeal, but it is in excess of what we are as yet able to formulate as a programme for your activities." In August the government did formulate a programme and established military camouflage. In the past month a letter received by me from the distinguished painter, Barry Faulkner, in our first camouflage unit on the firing line commences: "I have a half hour of leisure and daylight for writing before the usual evening rumpus begins."

Artists Have Enlisted

Hundreds of artists are among the enlisted men abroad. Lieutenant Sherry Fry and H. D. Thrasher, both sculptors, are in the same unit, and Robert Aitken, also a distinguished sculptor, has a captain's commission. There are two hundred and fifty names of artists upon the National Arts Club Artists War Emergency Fund list, although this list as yet only covers a few of the states of the Union in which such committees have been formed for the Artists War Emergency Fund.

Last spring at least forty artists, architects, sculptors and painters, men of distinction, busy men, gave weeks of their daylight hours under the leadership of Cass Gilbert, to decorating the city three separate times, for the visits of the French, the British, the Italian, and the Japanese war commissioners.

Quite lately more than a hundred very large landscapes have been painted as range-finding targets. Messrs. H. Bolton Jones, Francis C. Jones, Will S. Robinson, Miss E. Mabel Clarke, Mrs. H. V. B. Macgonigle were among the leaders in this movement. So many have followed the lead that hundreds of these range-finders will be furnished. The Academy of Design is busy with them, and the Salmagundi Club alone has painted more than forty. Mr. Chauncey F. Ryder being particularly active. The Federation of Arts of New York and the Sculpture Society under Mr. Herbert Adams' initiation, made at an early meeting a census of artists for war work. The Association of Alumni of the American Academy in Rome is fathering a most useful scheme for keeping artist-soldiers supplied with letters that shall give them home news as to what is going on along their own professional lines. The staff and pupils of the School of Rome itself are busy for Italy in the military and antiques of the peninsula. The Society of Mural Painters is preparing for the decoration of cantenets and soldiers' and sailors' clubs here and abroad. Lieutenant Henry W. Reuterbach is painting hard on naval posters, while Messrs. Mackey, Toch, Bittinger, Jerome Brush, with many others, have done naval camouflage on and off sea. As for the men working for the Division of Pictorial Publicity under that model chairman, C. D. Gibson, at once so forceful and so moderate, they have voluntarily contributed more than five hundred posters and are daily accelerating their pace. Under the recommendation of the division eight artists, among whom is Ernest Peixotto, have been commissioned as captains and sent abroad to study and work at the front or near it.

No Cleavage Where Patriotism Is

All artists are welcome at the weekly (Friday) Dutch treat dinner at Keen's Chop House.

Any who go there will find not lack of patriotism but an interest at white heat. They will soon acknowledge that the nominal cleavage between illustrators and painters has no actuality where patriotism is in question. They will see at table dozens of illustrators, and to cite at haphazard among many other artists, they will find the names Volk, the Jewett, Curran, MORA, JONES, and the sculptors Barry, Jett and MacMonnies. They will see that if Pennell, the illustrator, makes posters so does Daniel Chester French, the sculptor, and that Herbert Adams, who, as president of the Academy of Design, represents all branches of art, is a constant visitor and worker. There is no discord so eagerly listened for by some who are curious of sensation sounds, even in peace time, much less loudly than is supposed. In war time it does not sound at all, it is non-existent, all are in accord, all are pulling together.

The exhibition at the Arts Club of Patriotic Pictures was postponed for reasons having nothing to do with patriotism. The time allowed to contributors was too short. Figure pictures of importance are very expensive of thought, money, and, above all, time—for elaboration, for experiment and for changes. To paint a picture for a special exhibition is to many artists, at all times, one of the most uncontrollable of situations.

Imagination often refuses to make a date and must be waited upon, yet in spite of the shortness of the time there was a response. Men whose names are a guarantee of good work sent canvases—Hassam, Weir, Volk, Cooper, Hawthorne, Tack, Butler, Ritschel, Chapman (whose fine, helmeted soldiers in the trenches the public will like to see), and many contributors. There can be no possible reflection on any contributors, there was no regular choice made, no definite vote of acceptance. The jury hopes to have many of the works on the walls of the Arts Club next winter, but it felt that as a response to a great call a great impression from a large number of adequate contributors should be made.

Hence the postponement, but is not the enumeration of the activities of the artists a sufficient proof that patriotism is not lacking to them?

EDWIN HOWLAND BLASHFIELD.
New York, May 8, 1918.

The Wastrel

HE HAS paid it in full, the debt of his owing.
Garnered and bound are the sheaves of his sowing;
He has paid it in full.
Yea! to the uttermost dregs of his tasting—
Unto the scroll of the years of his wasting.
Laughter unbidden,
Honors unsought and follies unhidden—
He has paid it in full,
For the fever of living,
The mire of his ways and the wrongs of his giving.
Paid for in full.
And the field of his paying
Is tugged in the temples where nations
are praying,
Is treasured in tears and whispered in story
Unto his glory—
Unto the utmost paid he in full.

DYSART M'ULLEN.

"WHERE ARE MY WINGS?"



—From The Baltimore American

A Letter From Gutzon Borglum

"Who in God's Name Are Doing It?"

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: I want to write a word of protest, not so much against your correspondent C. W. Gilbert, who is writing upon the "waking of the air-crafters," which should be the "wake of air-grafters," as against the spirit of the times to which he and your paper respond. I refer to the common standard that prevails in our nation that bases its judgment of men upon one's ability to sell his neighbor or to keep astride of his own or his neighbor's bank account.

Mr. Gilbert labors under the common illusion regarding the American business man of hard common sense, as against the man of ideas and ideals, which become in this hour of world mediocrity a subject of opprobrium.

I have never resented being called an artist.

I never have even claimed to be one.

I hold the position, the merits and abilities it demands in such esteem that I have never more than aspired to in some way fill it, and I am mindful of the fact that Phidias was an artist and he rebuilt Athens, and that Angelo was an artist and he delivered the most creative thought of the Renaissance and created a new standard for Rome; that da Vinci was an artist, that Velasquez was an artist, and that Rubens was an artist, and in our own day, that Fulton was an artist, and that probably the best portrait in the City Hall in New York was painted by Morse, the inventor of the telegraph; that all creative work requires art; that every one of the men I have named ranked among the most practical, constructive, helpful men of their times, and that among men of culture and of intelligence they rank above the tradesman brain that is today trafficking in our war and fattening upon our nation's loans.

It was imagination in J. J. Hill that made him the creator of the great railway system that he founded. It was imagination, the ability to make real his dream, that made Strathearn and Lincoln and Hamilton able to see ahead of their times some new and uncommon service to their people, and this criterion may be applied throughout peace life as throughout our war life.

Gilbert talks, lives and thinks in the viewpoint common with the mass of makers of public opinion. They stand aside, down, and what they cannot understand is necessarily visionary. He, however, slanders thinking men and men of ideas by connecting them with those who are responsible for our aircraft débâcle, nor does he seem to know that a more select group of "sound," successful, millionaire business brains ever so mislabeled a great piece of work that demanded at once foresight and ability than those in charge of our aeroplanes.

Are there any Edison among them? Wilbur Wrights? Langley's? Is there a single man of creative thought in the entire group? If so, no one has been able to discover him.

The trouble is the aeronautical department has been in the hands of the kind of mind that is made by the million, that is found everywhere, that sells matches or chewing gum or cash registers, or grows powerful with other people's bank accounts, which in our dear land qualifies any man for any position; nor is here a single man responsible for creation or rejection of motors, creation or rejection of selection of airplanes, whether they be training or service, or any part connected therewith that I have been able to locate, who was taken from the real creative field of production of the article in demand.

It's but another part of the colossal handicap under which the Allies are working. Like mobs we assemble, hesitate, back and fill and fight again, just as great disorganized, unled bodies of men always fight, while Germany in her viciousness and insatiable ambition has won it all a definite goal and a plan. She thinks, she drinks and she talks war. She has picked out her victims, marked out her boundaries; she has established a destiny and she has unified her people for the performance of the work necessary and the accomplishment of that ambition.

What have we done?
And who's doing it?
Who in God's name are doing it?

I wouldn't write a dozen lines of the truth that comes to my mind to answer my own question, but I'll say this much—that bankers and business men, traders and merchants, men interested up to their eyes in the commercial balances, are mainly in command.

I do not question their patriotism. I do question their ability and spirit as I certainly question their right to lead against a Kultur they largely and strangely in themselves represent.

With Germany this war is business—cold, heartless, merciless business that eats into the property of the other man.

With the Allies this war is the defence of everything that is sacred to civilization. It calls for something else besides the spirit that actuates the Hun. The emergency calls for the best in the country, and it is not a business proposition, to be measured in the counting house!

The aircraft débâcle is the collapse and failure, the record of incompetence, conscious men trained in business, handling business, thinking of nothing but business. Is it saying too much that much of the failure would never have been possible had there been even a small leaven of sound professional information and real vision related to the article in production guiding these business men?

"AN ARTIST"—GUTZON BORGLUM.
Washington, May 9, 1918.

Work for Idle Needles

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: If there are any idle hands or any hands with not as much as they can do, will you please appeal to them through the columns of The Tribune to aid the War Relief Department of the Needlework Guild of America in preparing comfort kits for the boys who are leaving for "over there"? The War Relief Department has been asked by the Draft Board to make up kits for the boys who have no friends or homes. They have been asked for kits for the recruits for the Polish regiment, who are leaving in small groups. A call has also come in for fifty working kits each month. They are also working on 300 refugee kits that are to be finished by July 1 for women and children in France and Belgium. Also to be ready by July 1 are thirty-two kits for one of our large new submarines, and last, but by no means least, we have been requested to make 108 kits for the "Blue Devils," to be given them when they leave for France.

The kits for the refugee women and children are especially interesting and may be seen by any one who is interested at the rooms of the War Relief Department, which is 817 at the address below.

LAURA S. STEWART,
Chairman War Relief Department Needlework Guild of America.
70 Fifth Avenue, New York, May 9, 1918.

tire group? If so, no one has been able to discover him.

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"AN ARTIST"—GUTZON BORGLUM.
Washington, May 9, 1918.

Ireland and Conscription

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: The last official statement made in the House of Commons, April 15, shows that the number of recruits contributed by Ireland is as follows:

	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	Total.
Ulster	26,253	19,929	7,000	5,409	58,591
West of Ireland	17,851	27,351	11,752	8,193	65,147
Totals	44,104	46,371	19,057	14,023	123,555

The census of Ireland, 1911, shows that the total population was 4,390,219 (of which males numbered 2,192,048), divided by provinces as follows:

	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	Total.
Leinster	1,162,041	1,162,041	1,162,041	1,162,041	4,648,164
Munster	1,095,208	1,095,208	1,095,208	1,095,208	4,380,832
Connaught	610,984	610,984	610,984	610,984	2,443,940
Ulster	1,592,996	1,592,996	1,592,996	1,592,996	6,371,984

With considerably less than half the population of the other three provinces, Ulster has contributed 45 per cent of the men who have joined the British army from Ireland. The latest percentages of religion, which unfortunately always plays a deplorable part in Irish affairs, are:

	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	Total.
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